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v. 1 : no. 1
(1860 : May 15)

THE NATIONAL CRISIS.

An Antidote to Abolition Fanaticism, Treason and Sham Philanthropy.

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS. MAY 15, 1860. VOL. 1.—NO. 1.

THE NATIONAL CRISIS,

THEOPHILUS FISKE, EDITOR,

Will be published simultaneously in New York, Philadelphia and Washington, until the Presidential election, at the unparalleled low price of twenty-five cents single, twenty-three copies for five dollars, fifty copies for ten dollars, reducing the price to

TWENTY CENTS

each, for a volume of nearly *Two Hundred* pages. Letters to be addressed to Theophilus Fiske, Washington City.

EXTRACTS FROM AN

ORATION

Delivered several years ago at Charleston, S. C., on the Anniversary of the battle at Fort Moultrie.

BY THEOPHILUS FISKE.

And here, perhaps, I ought to stop—yet I cannot forbear a few parting words. It is good on these holy days, not only to call up the memory of those we venerate and love, but the anticipation of that we have reason to fear. It is good to turn our eyes upon the records of the past, that we may learn to prize the fireside's peace and the hearth-stones' joys—remembering that these invaluable blessings were the price of blood which flowed like gushing rain drops.

Look at the huge heaps of trophies piled upon the tombs of your glorious dead—your peaceful records of greatness and majesty—your soil moistened with the patriots blood—your atmosphere electric with patriotism—your name refulgent with glory throughout the world—and say—have you no trust to guard, no bequest to defend? Shall the dawn of some future day find your watch-towers abandoned, your altars overthrown, your banner forsaken? Your smiling land, the home of the brave and free, trodden by foreign hirelings, or desolated by internal strife? Look through the world, and show me a clime so proudly matured in the days of her youth! Shall the freedom won from the mightiest of nations in our days of feebleness, be lost in the hour of might? Shall our onward course be checked, shall our high fortune be marred, in the very spring of unclouded glory? No! perish the thought forever.

We should look at this subject as stewards of the great gifts bequeathed us by our forefathers. If there are dangers abroad, they threaten the whole community alike. That there is an evil in your borders, a great, and perhaps increasing evil—one which you must unite in checking or removing, if removal or check be possible—is well known to you all. I mean the Pandora's box of Northern fanaticism on the subject of negro slavery. It is quite impossible that you can be deceived on this subject. The signs of the times are to portentious to be unheeded, or misconstrued. You already hear the muttering thunder-cloud which is stretching far and wide above your moral horizon, speaking a tone to deep to be unheard, a language too plain to be misunderstood. It tells you, that you have to defend from profanation the ark of political and religious liberty—from encroachment, that Constitution which has poured upon our land the abundance of prosperity. "A power subtler than brute force, and mightier than armed men is at work"—the power of priestcraft—the omnipotence of religious fanaticism; let the people of the South slumber on—let them sit with stoical apathy beneath the wide spreading branches of this Bohan Upas, fold their arms in quiet, and ere long a voice will break upon the ear in a storm of ruin.

It is right you should know your friends and watch your enemies. Who then are they who would scatter scath and desolation—mildew and blight—havoc and death, in the Eden bowers of the sunny South? I answer fearless of contradiction—and I can speak *plainly* in THIS house—the leaders are the ministers of the gospel! They are those who for years have been aiming at supremacy in Church and State; they are those who have been turning the world upside down by their unholy schemes

of personal aggrandizement. All other plans having been blasted in the very bud of iniquity, they are now endeavoring to gain power and wealth by getting up a crusade against the South. Look for proof of my assertion to the list of officers and members of the Abolition Societies at the North—in nine cases out of ten they have R E V. prefixed to their names. Look at their public lecturers—preachers to a man. One of the most fiery incendiary publications at the East is Zion's Herald, the mouth piece, the official organ of the New England Methodist Conference. The Presbyterian and Baptist religious papers take the same course. The Unitarian and Universalist ministers generally, follow on in the same track. One after another of the New England clergy are leaving their flocks a prey to the devouring wolf, to engage in this treasonable conspiracy against the rights of the South. Rev. Mr. Phelps, (Presbyterian) and the Rev. Mr. May, (Unitarian) have abandoned the people of their charge, for the purpose of exciting the most unholy passions of the human heart to deeds of madness and murder! Well may it be asked—"Blessed Jesus whither are thy followers striving?"

Where charity ever begin at home? Are there no slaves North of the Potomac? Are there no white laborers at the North bending under a load of poverty and the fetters of ignorance, toiling on in sun and storm for a miserable pittance, their master's will their supreme law, their children growing up like cattle in thoughtless unprovided ignorance? Look at the cotton mills of New England—half a million of females—most of them young and tender years, growing to womanhood away from the fostering care of their parents, almost as ignorant of the world, and of the great duties that may devolve upon them, as the machinery they attend. And yet the people of the North cry out because the Southern slaves are uneducated. I will venture to affirm that there are more slaves in Lowell and Nashua alone than can be found South of the Potomac, or West of the Alleghanies. At the South between the Master and slave, there is a mutual dependence, and a mutual interest; at the North, the interest is all on one side, and all the dependence upon the other. While the white slave is profitable to the master, he is employed; but let sickness or old age lay upon him a palsying hand, and he is kicked into the gutter to starve, or sent to the almshouse to die. Can the fanatics point to a single case of this sort among the blacks at the South? Do they not know as well as they know any fact, that the Master protects and provides for those who cannot provide for themselves, in sickness and in health, in infancy, and in old age?

But slavery is an evil, it is said—a sin—why then is it over and again been sanctioned by the Almighty—will men charge God foolishly? But it is an evil—an evil to whom? an evil to the Master if any body. It may be an evil for him to toil hour after hour, from the morning light to evening shade, at his counting room, to earn the wherewithal to enable his negroes to live like Nabobs in comparative indolence. It is not an evil to the slave to have all his wants supplied without a care or a sorrow. It may be an evil to the country, and to the owner—but it is a blessing to the slave; if it is an evil, it is one of God's own appointing, and we should submit to it without a murmur.

But how are these ministers of grace, these angels of mercy, to cure this heinous abomination? Immediate abolition—is the sovereign remedy for all evils, past, present and to come. Immediate abolition—to turn an indolent horde of lazy drones loose upon the community would be a cure-all with a vengeance. You would have to build an alms house in every street, and a penitentiary or gallows, at every corner. Your lands would be covered with ruin, and your altar-stones with blood and desolation.—The hawk when he pounces upon the trembling dove, has as much real genuine philanthropy at his heart, as a modern abolitionist. I oppose their unhallowed schemes, because they are equally unjust to the master, cruel to the slave, and hypocritical in themselves. There is not an abolitionist in America but would hold slaves to-morrow, if he could buy them with wooden nutmegs.

For years there has been a class of men at the North whose meat and drink it has been to keep the community in a state of continual excitement and fermentation. First the war cry was—Lo! the poor heathen—next—lo! the poor Indian—and now it is lo! the poor negro. We can see some of the fruits of their *benevolent* doings, among the "poor Indians" by looking to the smoking ruins in Florida and Alabama—and it will not be their fault if similar scenes are not one day witnessed in South Carolina. Can ye then slumber upon the foaming cataracts brink of desolation? Can ye rest in supineness upon the flowery turf beneath which a volcanic hisses? Would you have the last rays of the last setting sun beam upon a land of prosperity? then let the watchers upon your hills keep a tireless vigil—with unslumbering faithfulness view each sign of storm. The nettle that is springing in your borders must be grasped firmly, or it will sting—the frozen viper must not be warmed in your bosoms—its fangs are the engines of death!

Have ye not seen the lofty oak, the crowned king of the forest, whose giant arms had defied the whirlwind and tempest of an hundred winters—when the sweet vernal season had clothed the earth with a mantle of green, when all was blossom and fragrance, stand leafless, solitary and bare—lonely and desolate—while all around was glowing with life and beauty? Alas! the change. An insidious vine wound its treacherous folds around its trunk, clung to its wide-spreading branches, throwing fetters of bondage around its green leaves—and the monarch of the wood that would have dared the red thunderbolt, has perished in the poisonous chains of the twining ivy! Would you realize this picture?

Would you see an insidious foe in the garb of a spiritual friend, steal upon the unwary and confiding, winding the serpent coil around the human heart, entwining its deadly fetters, its chain of palsy, with the very fibres of life? If not—and God forbid—let those who are the heirs of men who in an age of glory resisted insolence and oppression even unto death, not fold their arms in calm indifference when the angel of desolation is sweeping over the land upon the wings of a whirlwind. It will be no time to cry peace and safety, when the shriek of the maiden is ringing in our ears, and the earth is reeking with human blood.

The following written by the editor of this periodical and addressed to a "Northern Abolitionist," was added to the foregoing oration by way of appendix:

Sir:—The candor and good judgment usually manifested by you on other subjects, induces me to address you upon a question so deeply exciting as is that of Slavery. It is a subject to which I have paid almost unremitting attention for the last five years; I have examined it with all the prejudices of a Northern man, and my conclusions will not therefore be considered the result of preconceived notions, influenced by any early bias, or undue partiality in favor of the South. I was once led to suppose, from my early education, as do you, that Slavery is an evil; but the more familiar I have become with the subject, the more fully and firmly am I convinced of my error. From the earliest ages of the world, it has been sanctioned and approved by the wise and the good, the virtuous and the refined, of almost every nation; not only did the ancient patriarchs, the fathers of God's chosen people, the Jews, hold slaves, but the evil, if it be one, was entailed by Noah himself upon one of the branches of his own family; yet we hear of no denunciation from the Almighty upon his head for the act. Abraham was an extensive slave-holder—he bought men with money—had slave holding been considered "an abomination in the sight of Heaven," we should naturally have expected that the Deity would have required its immediate abolition; instead of which, God sanctions and approves of it, and gives Abraham directions how to conduct towards those in this condition. It was afterwards not only sanctioned by the Almighty in the laws of Moses, but positively enjoined under certain circumstances. If it was right then, can it be wrong now? Can the lapse of ages change immutable principles?

Look into the New Testament. When the Saviour was upon the earth, did he denounce slavery as an evil, as a sin? Never. His disciples after him, so far from reprobating it, that some of them held slaves themselves. Paul is exceedingly particular in his injunctions to the slaves, to yield a willing and cheerful obedience to their masters. Ephesians vi. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, "Servants (slaves) be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, with singleness of heart as unto Christ," He appears to have thought it equally right for slaves to obey their masters, as for children to obey their parents. He uses no incendiary language; he does not endeavor, in his zeal for religion, to excite them to cut their masters' throats, but directly the reverse. Again. Colossians iii. 22—24. "Servants (slaves) obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; not with eye-service, as men pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God." &c. Here he proves very conclusively, that in obeying their masters, they served Christ. Again. Titus ii. 9, 10. "Exhort servants (slaves) to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things; not answering again; not purloining, but shewing all good fidelity; that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things." Was Paul in the habit of talking of a "crying evil" in this cool manner? Read his letter to Philemon—A Slave Holder!—respecting a runaway slave, named Onesimus. He does not say you have been guilty of an abominable sin—he does not vilify him, and heap unholy epithets upon him, as do the ultra pious of your neighborhood upon the people of the South—he does not reproach him in the least for holding men in bondage; but addresses him by the endearing appellation of "our dearly beloved, and fellow laborer!" Remember this language was addressed to a slaveholder! Paul says, "If he (the slave) hath wronged thee (running away) or oweth thee ought, put that on my account; I will repay it." Did Paul think slavery morally wrong—a sin against God? Most surely not.

We say it is morally wrong, a sin, to lie, to steal, and to commit murder. Why? Because it is a violation both of divine and human laws. But is slavery the violation of any law of heaven or earth?

But suppose we admit that slavery is an evil; so is murder, robbery and fraud; they are permitted to exist by Him who could eradicate all evil from the universe in the twinkling of an eye, if he saw it was for the best; yet he suffers it to remain for his own all-wise purposes. Would he do this, were not all evil ultimately to result in good? Does the Almighty allow any evil to exist longer than some good purpose is intended to be answered by it?

But the slave is held in bondage. What sort of bondage? The same bondage in which the apprentice is held by his master, with the exception that it is for life. Children are held in bondage to the authority of their parents, wards to their guardians, wives to their husbands, people to their rulers—is this an evil? If so, it is a necessary and unavoidable one; and so is that of slavery.

But the slave is cruelly treated—is abused as if he were a brute. This is an unqualified calumny—a most wicked and pernicious libel. The slave, in general, is treated as kind as the people at the North treat their own children; infinitely more so, than the blacks themselves treat their offspring. Interest, if there were no higher principle, would lead the master to treat his servants kindly; but the people of the South are influenced by higher considerations; they realize the responsibility of their station, they feel that the blacks are dependent entirely upon their bounty; and rarely is the trust abused which has been committed to their keeping. The master feels an affectionate interest in his slaves—they are members of his family—they have lived under his roof for years, and there is a mutual attachment and mutual interest existing between them and himself, which is rarely found at the North between the laborer and his employer.

The slaves at the South live in comparative indolence, without a care or a sorrow; come what will, blast, mildew, frost, their wants are all supplied. No taxes to pay, no military duty to perform, in peace or war. If sick, the best medical attendence is called to their relief. They are well clothed, (many of them better than their masters) but they have no tailors's bills to discharge. They are well fed, but it costs them nothing. With the single exception of their liability to be sold, [and this is seldom done—never, I be-

lieve, without a good cause] their situation, in most respects, is vastly preferable to that of the poor white laborers at the North. I speak from personal knowledge upon this subject. They fare better, and are better treated in general than the poor of New England. You occasionally, to be sure, find a harsh and cruel master; so you now and then see a cruel parent, who better deserves the name of brute than that of man; but this does not prove that all children are abused, nor that slaves in general are ill treated. In nine cases out of ten, the harsh master is from Yankee land. I take higher ground—the slaves at the South are in general more kindly and respectfully treated, than the white servant girls are in the families of Northern abolitionists. The children of the New England farmers do more manual labor in one day, than the blacks at the South perform in a week.

Look for one moment at the squalid, miserable, degraded condition of the free blacks in the Northern cities, [and indeed every where else,] utterly incapable of providing for themselves, living or rather starving, in brutal ignorance and sloth; make the situation of your own colored population at least an hundredth part as comfortable as is that of Southern slave, before you talk about "abominations," &c. I can point you to more squalid misery among the free blacks in Belknap street, Boston, Mulberry street, New York, Queen street, Philadelphia, in half an hour, than you can find among the slaves at the South in half a century. Would it not be well to remove the beam from your own eyes, before you talk about motes in the eyes of your neighbors? Emancipate the slave, and what then! He would fiddle, steal, and then starve.

Yours &c.,

THEOPHILUS FISKE.

EFFECTS OF SLAVE STEALING..

It is frequently said by the Abolitionists that there are 30,000 runaway negroes in Canada. They chuckle over this fact as if it were anything more than a conclusive proof of the unmitigated rascality of those who, by assisting the fugitives to escape from their lawful masters have aided in consummating a successful robbery. It is seldom, however, even in this world, that a wicked act is unrewarded with a commensurate punishment. The Canadians, who harbor these fugitives, are cursed with a lazy worthless population, whose sole idea of freedom consists in a vicious idleness which is the strongest contrast to their former life of peaceful industry. The unfortunate negroes themselves, deluded by promises of a liberty which they cannot comprehend; by the hopes of privileges which they can never be permitted to enjoy; and by visions of ease and luxury which are destined never to be realized, long for the comforts of the homes and the warmth of the skies they have left behind them, while they starve in the midst of a community which despises them, and die by inches beneath the rigors of a climate as fatal to them as the miasma of the tropics is fatal to the white man. But it is our own people at the North who feel the greater weight of retribution. They feel it, although ignorant of its effects. They feel it in the enhanced price of cotton—the material which regulates the exchanges of the world and pays for more than half of the vast amount of goods imported annually into the great marts of Northern commerce. It is said as we have before remarked, that there are 30,000 runaway negroes in Canada. There are at least 10,000 more scattered throughout the Northern States. These 40,000 negroes have been subtracted from the laboring population of the Southern States, by the machinations of the Greelys Sewards and Sumners, whose trade is to shriek for freedom and encourage the stealing of negroes. Every negro employed in agricultural labor at the South, is capable of producing 10 bales of cotton per annum; so that these 40,000 negroes employed as they ought to be employed for their own benefit as well as the benefit of civilized society, would produce 400,000 bales of cotton per annum. The total cotton crop of the United States is about 3,000,000 bales. An addition of one-seventh to the crop would reduce the price at least one cent and a half per pound. The amount of cotton consumed in the United States is 700,000 bales of 350,000,000 pounds. A reduction of a cent and a half a pound on this amount would be a saving of $5,250,000 per annum. Thus it is perfectly clear that the stealing of these 40,000 negroes costs the northern people over five million dollars ($5,000,000) a year, or in ten years fifty millions of dollars. Every negro stolen from his master, costs the northern people $132 a year in the enhanced price of cotton. We submit that this is pretty high to pay for keeping up the under-ground railway and enabling the abolitionists to indulge in the luxury of slave-stealing. The amount thus lost would in twenty years build the Pacific railroad. How long will our people close their eyes against the plainest truths of political economy? How long will they permit abolition traitors and thieves to plunder them with impunity? In the words of Cicero to Catiline, "How long, how long shall they abuse our patience?"

"WHAT IS TO BECOME OF THE WHITES?"

Such is the question which the Cincinnati *Enquirer* urges very appropriately on the attention of the besotted and debauched idolaters of the abolition dagon who are lashing themselves into fanatical convulsions. From this article, we extract a passage of some interest and value from such a source:

"Nothing is more easily demonstrated than that the North has a greater interest in the continuance of slavery in the South, than the South itself. All the burden, blight and evil of slavery fall upon the South. The North quietly divides the products of the labor, washes its hands of all the sinfulness of it, and is protected from all its evils and inconveniences. Every pound of cotton raised in the South adds to the wealth of the North. Boston makes more out of each bale shipped from New Orleans than the latter city; she makes it in the freight of cotton

aboard of her ships, in the supply of raw material for her manufactories, and in the articles required by the planter to produce it, which are fabricated by Northern artisans.

"No wonder the North prospers so much more than the South. She has all the benefits of slavery and none of its evils. She taxes the South for her support and enrichment.—Let slavery be abolished in the South, and you may reverse the relations of the two sections. The North will then have to support those whose consumption has so long burdened and weakened the South. We believe that the abolition of slavery would be a great evil to the country, but in the division of the evil the North would come in for the largest share."

SLAVERY NOW AND THEN.

In the days of WASHINGTTON, and during the first term of his administration, the census returns, certified by THOMAS JEFFERSON, Secretary of State, exhibit the following enumeration of slaves:

Vermont,	16
New Hampshire,	158
Maine,	none
Massachusetts,	none
Rhode Island,	948
Connecticut,	2,794
New York,	21,324
New Jersey,	11,453
Pennsylvania,	3,737
Delaware,	8,887
Maryland,	103,036
Virginia,	292,627,
Kentucky,	12,430
North Carolina,	100,572
South Carolina,	107,104
Georgia,	29,254
S. W. Territory,	3,417

This was twenty-five years before the Missouri Compromise and yet the people in all sections were contented and happy. But the condition of things which satisfied our fathers in the time of Washington, of course must be spurned in this day and generation by the fanatics and crazy political economists. Since the Missouri Compromise has been repealed, the Slavery question remains precisely as it was when Washington was President. Before the Compromise was enacted, State after State abolished Slavery voluntarily, and without the threats and officious interference of the Beechers, Parkers, Greelys, and other hypocrites and traitors. When the Mucklewraths began to agitate, emancipation ceased.

During the Administration of Washington, the Society of Friends memoralized Congress, invoking its interposition to terminate the slave trade, and submitting the interrogation how far the powers of Congress could be exercised towards the amelioration and abolition of slavery in the States and Territories. The subject was referred to a committee composed of men perfectly conversant with the meaning of the Constitution, *for they had made it.* They reported—"that Congress, by a fair construction of the Constitution, *are restrained from interfering in the emancipation of slaves, &c.*" but —"that Congress have authority to interdict the Slave Trade."

And when Congress was about putting an abrupt termination to the slave trade, a perfect storm of remonstrances came from Massachusetts and other holy States of the present day, demanding that the trade should be prolonged eight years beyond the time proposed; so that they could fulfil their lucrative contracts in transporting the thousands of poor Africans agreed upon from their native country to the Southern planters. Some "were building expensive vessels," and others had "just purchased and fitted out slave ships," with a view to the profits of the trade, and if it were suddenly abolished they would be crippled, if not ruined speculators in human flesh. The journals of Congress show that the South were in favor of immediate termination of the inhuman trafic, and that the States at present under the spiritual guidance of the sanctified BEECHER, PARKER, GREELEY, SEWARD and GARRISON, were unanimously against it.

NOT THE NEGRO BUT THE LOCALITY.

A colored child, living near Keyport, Monmouth County, N J., died very suddenly a short time since, and a subsequent investigation disclosed the fact that she had been beaten to death by a man named York Applegate, with whom she lived. The child, which was only four years old, had been nearly starved by Applegate because her board was not paid, and on the morning of her death he gave her a horrible beating and went out to his work. A short time after the child was found in bed with a crust of bread in her hand, but cold and stiff in death. One wrist, by which the brute held her while administering chastisement, was broken. If this affair had happened South, the Tribune and the rest of the Republican press would have published whole columns of shrieks and denunciations—but as it is, they only announce the fact and let the matter slide into obscurity as easy as possible. It makes a great difference with these negro-worshipping Republican demagogues where a colored person lives when he is abused. If it is in a free State why it appears to be a matter of no consequence; but if it is in a Southern State, what a terrible fuss there is made about it.

DISHONESTY OF ABOLITIONISM.

We perceive that John W Foster, a Quaker and a leading Rhode Island Abolitionist, has renounced his hobby, and, in doing so, says that those who make up the abolition party are sincere only in their desire to humbug the public, and that they have injured the slave to an extent that cannot be repaired in a quarter of a century. The New York Courier is unmasking British philanthopy, as it exists in the East

Indies. It says:—"To prove how utterly hypocritical and heartless is their pretended sympathy for the three millions of African slaves in the United States, it can gloat over and fatten upon the unheard of misery of one hundred and fifty millions of British slaves in India, from whom they annually extract a net revenue of sixty millions of dollars, through the yearly sacrifice of more lives than there are slaves in the whole United States."

ENGLAND'S PHILANTHROPY.

The Rev. W. W. O'Leary, in his Prison Report, states that out of 1114 persons committed to prison in the City of Manchester, 1148 were set down as "idle and drunken;" 1310 of them could not read at all; 522 read very imperfectly. Indeed 2,000 out of the 2114 criminals might be said to be unable to read the English language, although native born English citizens.

It seems to us that English philanthopists have a work to perform at home, previous to interfering with the domestic institutions of our Southern States. Perhaps her Grace, the Duchess of Sutherland, might find quite as much suffering to weep over in her own neighborhood, as exist among the colored people of Georgia or South Carolina. There is a good book which recommends us to pluck the beam out of our own before we seek motes in the eyes of others When John Bull shall educate and elevate the ponderous mass of ignorance and degradation which now disgrace the English name, he may interfere with matters which do not concern him with far more propriety than at present.

MASON AND DIXON'S LINE.

On the 4th of August, 1763, Thomas and Richard Penn, and Lord Baltimore, being together in London, agreed with Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, two mathematicians or urveyors, to mark, run out, settle and fix the boundary line between Maryland on one hand, an Delaware and Pennsylvania on the other. Mason and Dixon landed in Philadelphia on the 15th of November following, and began their work at once. They adopted the peninsular lines, and the radius and tangent point of the circular of their predecessors. They next ascertained the northeastern coast of Maryland, and preceeded to run the dividing parallel of latitude. They pursued this parallel a distance of 23 miles, 18 chains, and 21 links, from the place of beginning at the N. E. corner of Maryland to the bottom of a valley on the Dunkirk Creek, where an Indian war path crossed their route, and here, on the 19th of November, 1767—ninety-three years ago, their Indian escort told them it was the will of the Sioux Nation that the surveys should cease, and they terminated accordingly, leaving 36 miles, 6 chains and 50 links as the exact distance remaining to be run west to the southwest angle of Pendsyvania, not far from the Broad Tree Tunnel on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Dixon died at Durham, England, 1777; Mason died in Pennsylvania, 1787.

Abolition Humanity.—The Cincinnati *Enquirer* says that a political abolition preacher in northern Ohio, who entertains his pious flock every Sunday morning with a piteous account of the cruelties inflicted by Southern masters on their slaves, was lately fined *five dollars* for inhumanly whipping a little orphan boy he had taken from New York to raise. The boy, says the *Enquirer*, had loaned a neighbor a whip—a single leather string tied to a stick—on the discovery of which the kind-hearted, generous soul, who weeps at the fables of Southern atrocities, took the lad to a barn and whipped him with a cowhide till his back and legs were completely raw. The noise of the whip and the shrieks of the little sufferer brought the neighbors to his assistance, and delivered the lamb, for the time, from the wolf in sheep's clothing.

WHITE LABORERS, LOOK HERE!

Henry Clay, in a letter to Mr. Colton, dated Sept. 2, 1813, thus warns the white laboring man of the dangers of Abolitionism. Mr. C. said:

"But the great aim and object of your tract should be to arouse the LABORING CLASSES in the Free States against Abolition. Depict the consequences to them of immediate abolition. The slaves being free would be dispersed throughout the Union; they would enter into competition with the free laborer, with the American, the Irish, the German; reduce his wages; be confounded with him; and affect his moral and social standing. And as the ultras go for both Abolition and Amalgamation, show that their object is to unite in marriage the laboring black woman, and to reduce the laboring man to the despised and degraded condition of the black man.

HENRY CLAY."

ABOLITION OF NORTHERN SLAVERY.

The Democratic papers at the North have invariably been sound upon the question of negro slavery. They have uniformly maintained that it was a matter purely local in its character, and a subject with which we had nothing to do—it was none of our business what institutions existed at the South. Slavery at the South did not hurt us and it ought to be let alone.

The *Times*, published at New Bedford, Massachusetts, gives the plain reason why slavery was abolished at the North—simply because it was unprofitable. The New England fanatics would buy negroes to-morrow, and work them to death in five years, if the law allowed it, provided they could make a sixpence by it. The New Bedford paper says:

"As a domestic institution slavery existed for many years at the North. Nothing was

heard about it, as being inhuman, unscriptural, or in any way or shape contradictory of human rights as declared by the American Constitution. Under it the negro was not considered as oppressed, nor humanity as down-trodden, nor the African race as degraded from its rightful position in the scale of created intelligence. As far as the negro was concerned it was benevolent and philanthrophic; subjecting him to wholesome discipline, dispensing to him social blessings, elevating him as a moral being, and amply providing for his religious necessities.—Nor was it considered a sin either social, political or moral, for a white man to hold, sell, buy and work black men. There was nothing in the institution whatever that prevented the master from being a good neighbor, a loyal citizen, and a correct Christian.

"Now, in the North slavery has ceased to exist. Northern grain-fields are no longer tilled by negro slaves, nor will they ever be again.—Slave labor has been banished from the soil, and forever. The doom was death, and slavery at the North has died. Why was it brought to such end? Why driven from the mountains and dashed to atoms? Why starved out from the abundant valleys? Why hunted out from the forest clearings? Why prohibited from settling on the fertile banks of rivers, and forbidden the possession of the fruitful plains, and refused the ownership of the orchards, the gatherings in the granary, and the shelter of a home? Why did the North so utterly abolish the institution of slavery, as to totally obliterate its every feature?

"The answer is brief and simple. *Slave labor did not pay.* Neither the political nor moral aspect of slavery came up for consideration.—It was looked at solely from a business point of view, and treated as business matters are, by cool and calculating men, according to the rules of profit and loss. The climate being such as it is, and the productions of the soil such as they are in the Eastern, Northern and Middle States, another kind of labor was introduced better adapted, and more remunerative; and the consequence was, that slavery was gradually abolished; or rather abolished itself. It was regarded strictly as a question of domestic economy to be answered in which ever way would best promote the financial interests of the North. As an institution no one pretended that it was antagonistic to the great principles of American liberty, or in any way contradictory of any declaration in the Constitution of the nation; or that it was politically hostile to our boasted free institutions, or an hindrance to healthy social development, or morally offensive, or religiously wrong. It did not prove to be a paying institution, and was therefore abandoned. White labor yielded more dollars and cents than black, and consequently it was prudential on the part of the employer to introduce the white and get rid of the black. This necessitated the setting free of the slaves; for it would have been impossible to have supported the slaves out of their earnings, and at the same time have paid wages to white laborers. Again we say, that slavery was abolished at the North for the simple reason that it did not pay, and for no other reason whatever."

PLAIN FACTS FOR THINKING MEN.

We ask the attention of every candid reader to the following brief statement of incrovertible facts. Let them be read without prejudice and remembered with profit:—

The South and Slavery.—The South has never been *an importer of slaves.*

The North has been.

The South has never reduced freeman to *slavery.*

The North has reduced millions to perpetual slavery, they and their posterity.

The guilt of slavery, of making slaves, stains not the South.

It does crimson to the North all over.

The South protested against the introduction of slavery, and passed laws prohibiting it, which were vetoed by royalty.

The South petitioned and remonstrated with the royal authority against the injustice and injury of slavery.

When the North desired to get rid of slavery it had the means of doing so, and at the same time of realizing the full value of every slave, and of getting them without trouble or expense beyond their borders.

CHANGE OF TUNE.

No paper in the world, has been more rampant in its denunciations of American Slavery, than the London *Times.* A great change has lately come over that powerful organ of public opinion. We copy the following from the *Missippian:*

A Sensible Conclusion.—The London Times the former organ of Exeter Hall negropholists, has been led by the results of the experiments which have been tried, to the conclusion that the negro is incapable of self-government; that slavery is his natural and foreordained condition, and that in no other does he reach the highest point of civilization and mental improvement which he is capable of attaining. It observes in a recent article, that "floods of pathetic eloquenee and long years of Parliamentary struggling taught the English people to imagine that the world was made for Sambo," and adds:

"The negro is a lazy animal without any foresight, and therefore requiring to be led and compelled—he is decidedly inferior, very little raised above a mere animal." He is "void of self-reliance" and is the creature of circumstances—scarcely fitted to take care of himself—has no care for tomorrow—has no desire for property strong enough to induce him to labor—lives from hand to mouth. In Jamaica emancipation has thrown enormous tracts of land out of cultivation, and on these the negro squats, getting all that he wants with very little trouble, sinking in the most resolute fashion back to the savage state."

☞ Bogus charity is a great traveller—it never stays at home.

THE NATIONAL CRISIS.

MAY 15, 1860.

POST MASTERS AND OTHERS,

Into whose hands this number of our paper may fall, will confer a favor by making an effort to secure a list of subscribers in their immediate neighborhood. The subscription price is such a trifling matter in amount, that every one can afford to patronize our journal. We intend to make it efficient and useful. May we not hope that those who receive this copy will earnestly exert themselves in our behalf? Letters containing subscribers to be sent to Washington City.

EDITORS

Who may find it convenient to notice this new candidate for public favor, will have the kindness to forward a copy of their journal containing such notice to our address, Washington City. The kindness shall be reciprocated at the earliest opportunity that offers.

PROSPECTUS OF

THE NATIONAL CRISIS.

THEOPHILUS FISKE, EDITOR.

Believing that a period of greater national danger than any that has ever preceded it, that a crisis more appalling in nature, character and ultimate consequences, is near at hand—that anarchy, disunion and civil war will sooner or later overwhelm our beloved country in a vortex of ruin, unless the nefarious plotters can be effectually checked, the editor has felt it to be an imperative duty on his part to unite with the true patriots of the land, in attempting to stay the sectional tide of fanaticism which is overflowing the country like a deluge.

The National Crisis is intended as an antidote to Abolition treason, fanaticism and sham philanthrophy; a champion of the constitution, its guarantees and compromises; an unshrinking foe of clerical political priestcraft, hypocrisy, sectionalism and incendiarism. The hireling clergy who take their texts from the New York *Tribune* and their sermons from Garrison's *Liberator*, will be handled without gloves. The wolves in sheep's clothing, who seek to scatter, divide and destroy, will be rebuked in our columns as their criminality deserves.

The National Crisis will give true views of the vexed question of negro slavery, and will unmask and expose the canting pharasaical hypocrites who agitate the subject solely for the purpose of agitation—who love mischief for its own sake, as well as the pay it affords to a horde of indolent drones, too proud to beg, too lazy to work and too cowardly to steal. The glaring misrepresentations with which the Northern States have been flooded by unscrupulous knaves, will be held up to the public detestation as well as those who circulate them. The people of the North shall have plain facts instead of atrocious falsehoods; the people of the South shall have "due notice" of the designs of the incendiaries, that they may be able to "govern themselves accordingly." With this brief exposition of the design of our paper, we confidently commend it to the patronage of a generous public.

We have the promise of contributions from the ablest writers in the United States. It is our intention to make this journal a text-book for the people to bind up and keep for future reference.

PREMIUMS.

In order to afford additional inducements to our friends to make the most zealous exertions in behalf of our paper, we will give a premium of

Thirty Dollars

to the person who shall forward us the largest list of subscribers on or before the first of July, 1860; to the person who shall forward the second largest number, by the same date, a premium of

Twenty Dollsrs

will be awarded.

TERMS.

The National Crisis will be published semi-monthly in New York, Philadelphia and Washington until the Presidental election; each number will contain sixteen 8 vo. pages, and will be sent to subscribers at twenty-five cents a single copy; twenty-three copies for five dollars, fifty copies for ten dollars, reducing the price to

Twenty Cents.

for a volume of nearly TWO HUNDRED octavo pages. Letters to be addressed to

THEOPHILUS FISKE,
Washington City

☞ The people of the South will find in this paper a fearless vindicator of their constitutional rights:

The people of the North will find in it the truth as it is—the facts as they exist. We respectfully ask that they will aid us in the undertaking, by an extensive patronage. We intend that our subscribers shall at least receive the value of their money.

☞ We intend to avail ourselves of the masterly speeches which have been delivered in Washington on the subject of Abolitionism. Our readers shall have them in a condensed form for future reference.

DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN PAPER.

In another part of our paper to-day, will be found the prospectus of a new campaign paper to be published in the City of Washington, by an association of gentlemen, Theophilus Fiske, principal editor. The following commendatory notices of that gentlemen, will afford the public some evidence of his abillty to make the *Expositor* one of the most efficient journals in the United States. J.

"The high reputation which Mr. Fiske enjoys as an editor, cannot fail to insure his paper a wide circulation in all parts of the country.—*American Citizen.*

"We have long known THEOPHILUS FISKE. His strenuous advocacy of universal intelligence, his fearless independence in the avowal of his honest convictions, has endeared him to the people, whose

champion he has proved himself to be. As an editor he has no superior in point of ability in the United States.—*Watchtower.*

"Mr. Fiske is a Democrat from principle, not merely from interest or expediency. He is an able editor and the most eloquent orator we ever heard."—*Herald of Freedom.*

"Theophilus Fiske is an able and eloquent advocate, both with pen and tongue, of any cause he espouses; if he does not make his influence felt at Washington City by friends and foes, then are we greatly deceived."—*River State Journal.*

"Mr. Fiske has attained an enviable distinction as an editor and public speaker. We regard him as one of the most talented editors in the country."—*Mountaineer.*

"Mr. Fiske has every qualification to make a paper, that will from its merits, challenge admiration."—*Philadelphia Daily Pennsylvanian.*

"Mr. Fisk is a practical writer and a finished scholar, and posesses all the qualifications necessary to conduct a paper of this kind."—*Reading Gazete.*

"We have long been an admirer of Mr. Fiske's writings, and we consider him one of the most able, learned and polished writers of the age—and the most fearless champion of correct principles."—*Jeffersonian.*

"Mr. Fiske is one of the noblest works of God—an honest man. He is sound, thorough, and politically incurruptible. If the English language would suffer us to say more in his praise, we would be perfectly justified in saying more. With all due deference to other contemporaries, we will add that his paper is destined to be the very best on the continent."—*Empire.*

"His editorial career has been marked, not only by an uncommon degree of talent, but by the still more rare merit of independence and honesty."—*Reformer.*

"Mr. Fiske is well known as among the ablest political writers of the day, and we doubt not that his labors will be eminently successful in furthering the cause of Democracy."—*Volunteer.*

ONE UNION—ONE COUNTRY—ONE DESTINY.

Before the blighting and deplorable evils of Abolition fanaticism were let loose upon our otherwise happy and prosperous country, one Country, one Constitution, one common Destiny, was the motto of every party, an article in every political creed. Fifty years ago the people of this country knew no rivalry but that of fraternal zeal for the general welfare, no competition but that of exalted patriotism; now they confront each other with bitter anathemas and frowning menaces; the hands which should be clasped in friendly fellowship, now clutch at at each other's throats. Side by side, shoulder to shoulder, they won this bright heritage of national independence, knowing no North, no South. Knit together with a bond that was fondly hoped would endure forever, they were common partners in toils, dangers and sufferings, and common inheritors of the priceless boon for which they pledged their fortune, their lives and their sacred honor. Now behold the melancholy contrast. The country on the brink of anarchy, ruin and civil war, simply to gratify a pestilential horde of mischieveous fanatics, with utterly impracticable theories, impossible objects, and treasonable machinations. When will sound sense and returning reason put an end to this profitless agitation, these idle and mischieveous contentions, that have no possible object but to create heart-burning., division and sectional strife?

☞ The Puritans passed a law returning white fugitives from labor to their masters, which was considered perfectly right and proper so far as *white* men were concerned; but now, when the same law is applied to the *blacks*, a terrible out-cry is raised.

"Slavery Aggression." — Among the meaningless catch-words used by unscrupulous demagogues, there is not one so utterly false and deceptive, as the cant phrase so often used by the anti-slavery lunatics, "the aggression of the slave power." Never has the South been aggressive—the North has been so for years. Virginia gave five great States to free soil, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, to say nothing of other territory made free which was owned in common by the North and the South. Not one foot of free territory that has been acquired, has ever been devoted to slavery.

Quench the Fire Brand.—We declare uncompromising hostility against all combinations of treason, incendiarism, and disunion. All factions and disorganizing schemes for arraying one portion of our happy country against the rest, will meet with unsparing animadversion in our columns, whether advocated in the pulpit or out of it. The traitors to public virtue, religion, and national prosperity, who desecrate the pulpit in their advocacy of abolition politics, who prostitute their sacred functions in aid of division, strife, and civil war, will be exposed to public abhorrence in terms that cannot be misunderstood.

WHAT HAS AGITATION DONE?

We put this question to the candid reader—what has the anti-slavery agitation in Congress and out of it done for the negro, the white man or the country? Millions of dollars have been

expended—sectional strife, hatred, and ill-will have been engendered—churches have been broken up, societies divided, families sundered,—but not a single slave has been liberated, nor ever will be by instrumentalities such as these. The whole of this "agitation" has been a curse to the slave, a curse to the country and the race; it has been mischief for its own sake from beginning to end.

To no class has this wicked and unprofitable fanaticism been more hurtful, than to the Mechanics and toilers generally. It has called off their attention from their own grievous wrongs and intolerable oppressions, and induced them to engage in a Quixotic crusade for the benefit of a class at the South, which, in nine cases out of ten, are physically better off than the producing classes at the North. Suppose slavery is wrong—sinful—abominable—is there no slavery at home—in our own neighborhood, under our very windows, where charity ought to begin her commendable exertions?

Suppose Southern slavery should be immediately abolished as the fanatics propose! are our Mechanics quite prepared to welcome an ignorant horde of half-civilized Hottentots to share with them the proceeds of their labor? Are they willing to see wages reduced to twelve and a half cents a day, by an influx of three or four millions of ignorant beings, who could live upon potato parings and sleep upon the curb-stone?

There never was a more cunningly devised deception than this Abolition movement to prevent the Workingmen from redressing their own intolerable wrongs, and it is astonishing they do not perceive it.

☞ A northern gentleman travelling through the southern States, in writing to a friend in New England, says;—

"The evils of the present system of slavery are *not* borne by the negro. Let your heart be at rest upon that."

☞ The first introduction of African slaves into the United States (then British Colonies,) was by a Dutch ship, in 1620. From that period until the prohibition of the slave trade in 1808, the whole number of Africans introduced into the United States did not exceed 375,000. Of the first cargo, 91 were consigned to British subjects; 88 to Rhode Island; 10 to French subjects, and 12 to natives of Charleston.—Thus we find that the Africans in the United States, from their original small number, have increased to 3,204,313, or in the ratio of nearly 8 or 10 to 1; while in the British West Indies, there are not two persons remaining for every five of the imported and their descendants.—We have data to show that there were imported into Jamaica, previously to 1817, 700,000 negroes, of whom, and their descendant's but 311,000 remained after 178 years, to be emancipated in 1833, the date of the British act.—In the whole of the British West Indies there were imported 1,700,000, of whom and their descendants, but 660,000 remained to be emancipated by the same act.

In no part of the world, whether free or bond, has the African race increased so rapidly as in the United States, which is an irrefragible proof that they have been better treated and better cared for in this country than any where else.

"Consistency is a jewel," but it does not happen to be very favorably displayed by the abolitionists of the North. We find them willing to contribute millions to Cuba for sugar, and to Brazil for coffee, piling up an annual balance of trade in the two places of over $20,000,000 per annum—to see the slave trade clandestinely continued—to see the negroes annually decimated—to see St. Domingo and other British West Indies ruined by emancipation—and in the face of the appalling fact that there has been a decimation of over 1,000,000 Africans in the British West Indies alone—yet they carry on a violent crusade against their southern brethren because they will not consent to destroy upwards of 3,000,000 contented and well-treated Africans by emancipation, and thereby involve ruin to their own section of the country.

☞ Fanaticism, like bigotry, "has no head and cannot think, has no heart and cannot feel." It blights, like the simoom, whatever it touches. A few years ago, under the powerful moral influence of the Washingtonian Societies and the Sons of Temperance, intemperance was fast dying out every where. Misguided zealots, who can never "let well enough alone," thrust their hands rudely into the cause for political effect, left moral suasion and resorted to force. They introduced the odious Maine Law, and the consequences have been most deplorable. The barriers of sobriety have every

where been broken down, the work of years has been utterly destroyed, and drunkenness stalks abroad at noon-day.

A quarter of a century ago, the subject of emancipation was openly discussed at the South. The fanatics took hold of it to further their own selfish purposes, and who now alludes to emancipation in the Southern States, unless it be to execrate it?

☞ The Republican party have made untiring efforts to exalt the traitor and murderer John Brown to the dignity of a saint and martyr. It is immeasurably astonishing that a sensible people, claiming to be patriotic and just, can act with traitors and incendiaries, or those that sympathise with such.

☞ Sympathy of the Republicans with the late *raid* at Harper's Ferry, the resolution introduced in Congress by a member of that party proposing to abolish slavery, goes to show beyond a shadow of doubt that the "irrepressible conflict" is to be carried on at all hazards, to the bitter end.

☞ It would be impossible to find an instance of such deplorable infatuation, as that which exists among the laboring classes of the North upon the subject of negro slavery. They see that the useless agitation of this subject, the unholy crusade which is carried on here against the people of the South, has had the effect of withdrawing a great portion of trade from us, thereby depriving them of employment, reducing their wages, and bringing upon them deplorable misery and wretchedness. And yet they blindly follow the leaders of the Republican party, who are the authors of the evils they now suffer. Was honest credulity ever so successful by duped before since the creation of the world:

WELL—AND WHAT THEN?

Suppose that negro slavery should be abolished, and three million of a degraded and inferior race were to be turned loose upon the North—what then? what would be done with them. Our jails and alms-houses would be filled to overflowing, outrages too monstrous to be named would be of daily occurrence. Is this the political millenium the fanatics would usher in? Had we not better "let well nough alone?"

LET THEM ALONE.

The Petersburg *Express*, an ably edited penny paper, in Virginia, doubtless represents the true sentiments of the mass of the Southern people, and only asks at the hands of the North what the South is justly entitled to under the Constitution and laws, in the following words:

"We care not a straw about anti-slavery sentiments *in the abstract*. The people at the North are welcome to think that the institutions is wrong or an evil. We know that, with but few exceptions, they are all opposed to it. What the South wants and asks is that they will leave it to be dealt with by *her own people in her own way*—and not to be making it a ground of incessant outcry, agitation, insult and outrage in the way they are doing. We simply desire and demand that we shall be let alone in this matter, so that we may peacefully enjoy the benefits of the sacred compact of Union which our fathers established."

HAS IT DONE ANY GOOD?—For twenty years the agitation of the Slavery question has been going on, in the Northern States. Has it done any good? Has it not, on the contrary, been productive of prodigious harm? Injuring the slave, producing bitterness and anger, ferocity and strife in families, neighborhoods, and religious societies? When will men learn wisdom and prudence?

CONDITION OF SOUTHERN SLAVES.

An intelligent gentleman from the North has been spending some time at the South. He gives a chapter of facts, of things as they seemed actually to exist, from which we make the following extract. We ask that it may be attentively read.

Northern agitation is sustained by sympathy for the Southern slave. As to what *stirs up* that agitation, there are different opinions. My lesson in coming South is that Abolitionism is thrown away. Every Northerner, when he is set down in a slave State, begins to look about for the "miserables;" but he can find none. When I first got over the line into Kentucky, Maryland, and Virginia, I thought the mildness or the apparent absence of slavery there was owing to their proximity to the free States. But in the extreme South, I find everything the same—indeed, there is a singular sameness in the system everywhere. It seems more like a spontaneous and natural growth, independent of statutes and conventionalisms. The regard of the white for the negro, and his treatment of him, is about the same everywhere; and the demeanor of the black toward the white, in every State, is as uniform as though they had all been educated to it in one school.

All the remarks I make on this subject will be general, and not partial. I do not say that the

present system of slavery here is a natural state of the negro, or that I think it permanent. The slavery here, however, need hardly be called slavery. There is just about legal restraint enough upon the black race to keep them together, protect them, and to keep them industrious enough for their own good. You will nowhere here see any positively inflicted injuries upon the slave. He has not much stimulus for ambition—but he is happy, and has ten times more privileges than he avails himself of. Sadness upon the face of a negro is a very rare picture, but it is frequently engraven deeply upon the master's face.

The responsibility of the health, life, good order and respectability of many of the negroes upon the master, is no mean one, and many are the fortunes ruined and household broken up by too lax government and too much sympathy on the part of masters. Law, public opinion and individual sympathy, all hold the slaveholder rigidly responsible for the good treatment of his slaves. "The man who trents his niggers badly," is the most shunned; and the most disgraceful of all epithets is this one applied to him. Nothing hurts an owner so much as to separate his negroes; they are not fully and practically considered transferable stock. Northerners cannot understand the peculiar jealousy, sensitiveness and tenacity with which slaveholders grip to this kind of property. When one is taken ill, he is waited upon by the doctor in preference to any of the owner's family. The negroes are aware of this regard for their person, and they enjoy it. Nothing will so quickly arouse an owner's bloody passions as the abuse of his negro by another man. When a negro complains to his master of abuse, the latter feels it as incumbent upon him to demand satisfaction as though his personal honor was impeached. There are three things for which a Southerner will draw his knife: call him a liar, insult a female, and abuse his nigger.

About whipping. I had not heard a blow struck since I have been at the South, until forty-eight hours ago, by the keeper of this hotel, a man formerly of Jefferson County, N. Y. Whipping is an institution here, but, of course, resorted to with reluctance, and considered by both master and slave in about the same light as boss and laborer at the North consider "docking" wages for misdemeanors. The guaranty for the safety of the black man at the South is that endemic good nature and sympathy of the Southern heart. It may sometimes be passionate, but not willingly cruel. The Southerner is himself independent, and he is magnanimous enough to regard the individual rights of others, black and white. The negro has rights here that the white dare not overstep, and they are very sensitive as to those rights. The Southerner has more respect for a negro under the principle of slavery than the Northerner. When the Northerner gets down here he begins to trifle with the negro, and regards him with a cold, disrespectful, unsympathising feeling (the same as free negroes are treated at the North.) I nearly forgot a recent occurrence near here, which illustrates the regard between master and servant. Col. Bond, of Georgia, a millionaire, a gentleman of the highest social refinement and position, and one of the leading men of the State, lost his life simply in retaliation upon a man for abusing his negro.

The negroes have many perquisities amounting to luxuries. They go to church Sabbaths, sometimes in new silks. They are always provided with a place for worship, and often white people of the highest respectability mingle devoutly with them at the foot of the altar. No longer ago than yesterday I saw the tears of black and white mingle at church, and the endearing address to them of "my dear brethren and sisters," came from the lips of a refined white minister. This scene forcibly impressed me that the black man has not many truer friends than the Southern master. I have seen enough to come to this declaration—*that the Southern States of America are the natural paradise of the negro.*

FREE NEGROES IN PENNSYLVANIA.—The following petition has been presented in the Senate of Pennsylvania in relation to free negroes coming into the state:

"*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representative of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met:* Your petitioners humbly represent that the rapid growth of the free negro population by emigration, within a brief period, is not only a burden to your petitioners by increasing demands on our poor fund, but, owing to their great indolence and dissipation, they have filled our prisons, thus increasing our taxes to an enormous extent. The recent raid at Harper's Ferry will result in stringent laws by the Southern States for the expulsion of free negroes from their limits; so we must shortly have thousands more of those unfortunate creatures thrown upon us, many of them in the decline of life, or otherwise incapacitated for labor. The exigency calls upon your honorable body to adopt some measure to prevent an increase of our already burdened condition. If your honorable body has not the power to prevent their emigration to this State, we would prefer a slave code."

We fully accord with the sentiments uttered in the foregoing. If we are to have negroes among us, we demand that they should have masters to keep them within the bounds of decency.

☞ The three millions of negroes now in our country as slaves, are better clothed, better fed, better cared for in sickness, youth and old age, than any other portion of the same race in the known world. They are better off in most respects, than the white, wages slaves of England or America.

THE PULPIT ITS OWN WORST ENEMY.—The people are fast finding out the important fact that the American pulpit is becoming a far more formidable enemy to Christianity, than all the infidel writers that have ever attempted its overthrow. One political abolition ranter in the pulpit, can do more harm than a hundred faithful ministers can do good. The people have the remedy in their own hands. Let them withdraw their pecuniary support from all such unfaithful shepherds, stop pecuniary supplies, and political treason in the pulpit will cease.—That is the only argument that such men can feel and realize. Let it be put in force every where.

☞ In heaven's name have we not already had enough of this sectional and suicidal policy? Must the infernal fires of blind fanaticism be kept blazing, until all fraternal feeling between the North and the South, all love of the country, all veneration for the Union and the Constitution, shall be consumed to ashes?—What is to be gained by its longer continuance? Not a Slave is expected to be liberated by this mischievous agitation—why then continue to harass the South and finally dissolve the Union?

☞ Poor over-burdened wages slave of the Northern capalist, what pledge or security have you that you will not die in an alms-house? Why do you permit yourself to be duped and be-fooled by your heartless task-masters, by enlisting your sympathies for the fancied wrongs of a degraded and inferior race, while you make no effort to free yourself from a ten-fold worse bondage? If the rich nabobs for whom you are toiling out your lives, can induce you to look abroad for objects of sympathy, if by harping upon the ficticious atrocities said to be practised upon the negroes of the South, they can keep you patiently bending under their yoke, the happier they will be and the richer they will become.

Lodging Places.—It is said that there are over three thousand persons in New York City, whose only lodging place is the door-step, the coal-box, or the benches in the public squares.

Not a solitary "shriek" in behalf of these perishing classes do we hear from the sham philanthropists. They can attend to but one class of society, and that the one least capable of elevation and improvement. They have no eyes for distress unless the victim has a black skin and emits an odor like a pole-cat.

☞ Some one says that it is all very well to talk about the beauties and blessings of freedom and free speech—but let a band of men come among us at the North for the purpose of stealing our cattle, horses, and other property; of setting fire to our barns and dwellings; murdering our citizens, men, women and children—and all this declamation would be hooted at as idiotic, preposterous and absurd.

Are You Prepared for it.—Are the Mechanics and Working men of the Northern States prepared for a competition with three millions of emancipated negroes? Set the negroes free at the South, and they would come among us in swarms, like the plagues of ancient Egypt. They have an idea that the North is the promised land, and they would emigrate in a body to the Middle and Eastern States.—At any rate they would not be permitted to remain where they are if set free. How would our free laborers of the North, like to be placed upon an equality with ignorant and degraded black men?

HON JOSEPH HOLT.

In common with all true patriots, the eminent statesman who now fills the important station of Post Master General with such transcendant ability, has been unsparingly maligned by the unprincipled demagogues who make abolition agitation a trade.

Mr. Holt has very properly enforced the regulations as to treasonable and incendiary documents being sent by the mail, and for this the miserable tricksters whose only stock in the political market is falsehood, calumny and the vilest misrepresentations, have poured upon his head the vials of their impotent malice. In this case the vipers bite a file. No man has ever filled that important office with greater ability or to more general acceptance and satisfaction. His administration of the affairs of that Department, has been such as to win for him the highest encominms. As an orator, Mr. Holt ranks as one of the most eloquent men now a living; as a statesman he has no superior. His great modesty, a rare quality at the present day, his retiring and unobtrusive manners, may have the effect of keeping his distinguished merits out of sight for a time; but *the people* will yet appreciate his rare excellence. The hour will come and the man. Let him bide his time.

WHAT HAS "FREEDOM" DONE FOR THE NEGRO?

Dear-bought experience has taught us that the two races, white and black, cannot live together upon terms of social and political equality. If you attempt to make a negro equal to the white man, you will immediately find him putting on airs of insolent superiority, and attempting to domineer over those who are infinitely his superiors in every possible respect. Experience has taught us another lesson, no less important than the one already named.—

It is that the negro is utterly incapable of providing for himself, incapable of taking care of himself, incapable of self-government. Let history speak.

Look at St. Domingo. By the brutal, indiscriminate massacre of the white inhabitants, men, women and children, the negro achieved "freedom" in that Island—but it was only to fall back again into his original state of barbarism when in Africa. And this Island, once the finest and most highly cultivated in the West Indies, is now relapsing into a desert.

In Jamaica the negroes were liberated by the British Government, and placed upon a political equality with the white inhabitants, at an expense of a hundred million of dollars; the result has been the ruin of the whites and their abandonment of the Island. The population of Kingston alone being reduced in the space of twenty-five years, from 25,000 to 8,000, or over two-thirds. Many of the plantations have been abandoned for want of hands to carry them on, the negroes preferring to live upon the spontaneous productions of the soil, spending their days in the sun, to earning a dollar by their labor. The negro is naturally indolent, and will not work unless compelled to do so; the natural consequence of which is, that the commerce of the Island has fallen off over three-fourths. These are some of the fruits of a cold-blooded massacre which has no parallel in the annals of human atrocity. "The negroes," says the historian Allison, "marched with spiked infants on their spears instead of colors; they sawed asunder the male prisoners and violated the females on the dead bodies of their husbands." Do our Northern fanatics desire to witness a repetition of these monstrous crimes in the Southern States?

The London *Times*, until recently one of the foremost "shriekers" in the world in behalf of the negro—*at a distance*—is compelled to admit that negro emancipation in the West Indies has been a curse and a nuisance. It alludes to these Islands and says:

"The worthy men who extinguished slavery and ruined our West India possessions, are very touchy, very obstinate, very inconvertible on that tender point. It is not our business to deny them much justice and truth on either side, or to stand up for the planters, who took a line which repelled all reasonable advocacy. But confessedly taking that grand summary view of the question which we cannot help taking, after a quarter of a century, the process was a failure—*it destroyed an immense property, ruined thousands of good families degraded the negroes still lower than they were, and after all, increased the mass of slavery in less scrupulous hands.* After many attempts at indirect discouragement, we have been obliged, at last, to recognize and admit persistent slave owners in an equal rank in our commerce."

In another article, the same paper again alludes to these Islands and the deplorable failure emancipation has proved itself to be. The *Times* says:

"Does the earth own possessions fairer to the view and more grateful for the labor of man? Yet, what are they now? Wrecks, ruins, deserts; with the faint impression of former wealth and a fading civilization, which become fainter and fainter every year; with towns at once filthy, noisome and pathless; with mansions, once grand and stately, tottering to decay; with a few tradesmen occupying the houses and mimicking the display of princely merchants; and with a race of negro squatters parading their insolent idleness on lands which they have occupied without purchase, and exhausted without cultivation. Do not tell me this or that week's price of sugar—of its increased production on some 2,000 or 3,000 acres in Trinidad and Demerara—of 1,000 coolies sent here and 500 landed there, or of some puerile scheme of "protection" in Jamaica. All this is a gnat to a megatherium. I am speaking of a grand empire—a bright constellation of colonial dependencies plunged into sudden eclipse—of a great bulwark in war cast down and dismantled—of a material element of peaceful prosperity wantonly flung away—of a moral blight brooding over islands which in other hands than ours, and under other counsels than ours, might have been the suns and centres of widespread happiness and civilization."

One more extract from the same journal is all we have room for at present. Says the *Times*:

"There is no blinking the truth. Years of bitter experience; years of hope deferred; of self devotion unrequited; of poverty; of humiliation; of prayers unanswered; of sufferings derided; of insults unresented; of contumely patiently endured, have convinced us of the truth. It must be spoken out loudly and energetically despite the wild mockings of howling cant. The freed West India slaves will not till the soil for wages; the free son of the ex-slave is as obstinate as his sire. He will not cultivate lands which he has not bought for his own. Yams, mangoes, and plantains—these satisfy his wants; he cares not for yours. Cotton, sugar, and coffee, and tobacco—he cares but little for them. And what matters it to him that the Englishman has sunk his thousands and tens of thousands on mills, machinery and which now totter on the languishing estate that for years has only returned beggary and debt. He eats his yams and sniggers at 'Buckra.'

"We know not why this should be, but it is so. The negro has been bought with a price—the price of English taxation and English toil. He has been redeemed from bondage by the sweat and travail of some millions of hard-working Englishmen.—Twenty millions of pounds sterling—one hundred millions of dollars—have been distilled from the brains and muscles of the free English laborer, of every degree, to fashion the West India negro into a "free and independent laborer." "Free and independent" enough he has become. God knows; but laborer he is not; and so far as we can see never will be. He will sing hymns and quote texts,

but honest, steady industry he not only detests, but despises. We wish to Heaven that some people in England—neither government people nor parsons nor clergymen, but some just-minded, honest-hearted, and clear-sighted men—would go out to some of the islands (say Jamaica, or Antigua)—not for a month or three months, but for a year—would watch the precious *protege* of English philanthropy, the freed negro, in his daily habits, would watch him as he lazily plants his little squatting; would see him as he proudly rejects agricultural or domestic services, or accepts it only at wages ludicrously disproportionate to the value of his work. We wish they would watch him while, with a hide thicker than that of a hippopotamous and a body to which fervid heat is a comfort rather than an annoyance, he droningly lounges over the prescribed task on which the intrepid Englishmen, uninured to the burning sun consumes his impatient energy and too often sacrifices his life. We wish they would go out and view the negro in all the blazonry of his idleness, his pride, his ingratitude, contemptuously sneering at the industry of that race which made him free, and then come home and teach the memorable lesson of their experience to the fanatics who have perverted him into what he is."

Look at the history of Hayti, since it became a black paradise. Here the negroes obtained independence, but "freedom" they have never known, for the reason that they are utterly incapable of realizing what it is, of understanding or appreciating it. The history of that once flourishing Island, since it became independent of the white man, has been that of an odious military despotism, anarchy, and almost constant civil war between the mulattos and the blacks. The change has been a change of masters and that greatly for the worse. Contrast the financial condition of the Island in point of prosperity, when the negro was held as a slave and since he became "free."

In 1789, two years before the massacre and "independence," the Sugar exported was 673,000,000 pounds; in 1806, it was 48,516,531 pounds; in 1825, it was 2020 pounds, in 1832, it was 0 pounds. Is not this an exact counterpart of Jamaica? "There appears every reason to apprehend," says Mr. Franklin in a work on the present State of Hayti, "that it will recede into irrecoverable poverty and disorder." Another English writer says: "Almost all traces of laborious culture were soon obliterated; large tracts, which had been one entire sugar garden, presented now only a few scattering plantations."

And is it to bring about such results as these that the abolitionists of the North are stimulating the fierce passions of the negroes of the South against the planters, their best friends—driving them on to indiscriminate massacre of the white population?

Take another instance. Before the French Republic was established in 1848, France had a productive and fertile colony, at Cayenne, situated on the South-eastern coast of South America. The territory is twice as large as that of the State of New York, and the soil is capable of producing in boundless profusion, many of the most valuable commodities known to commerce. Fanatics in France in favor of negro liberty, threw an appalling cloud over this beautiful territory, beggaring the whites and barbarizing the blacks. Its once fertile fields, capable of supporting 20,000 Frenchmen in affluence and prosperity, are now fast relapsing into unwholesome wilds; and its once well-ordered and prosperous population has been converted into a motley, squalid, vicious, work-hating, poverty-stricken, worthless rabble.—They are fast going back to their original barbarism.

Investigation and observation will convince any and every sensible person of two important facts, viz., that it is only in a condition of servitude that the negro is susceptible of advancement and civilization, and that emancipation has always been to him an injury and a curse. This we shall endeavor to show even more fully in the future numbers of this periodical.

THE NEGRO AS HE IS.

Bayard Taylor, one of the abolitionist editors of that epitome of all human infamies, the New York *Tribune*, in one of his letters from Nubia, in Upper Egypt, thus speaks of Simbo from his own personal knowledge. He tells the simple truth. He says:—

"Those friends of the African race who point to Egypt as a proof of what that race has accomplish, are wholly mistaken. The only negro features represented in Egypt as sculpture are those of slaves and captives taken in the Ethiopian wars of the Pharaohs The temples and pyramids throughout Nubia, as far as the Dar-Far and Abysinia, all bear the hierogyphics of these monarchs, and there is no evidence in all the valley of the Nile that the negro race ever attained a higher degree of civilization than is at present exhibited in Congo and Ashantee. I mention this not from any feeling hostile to that race, but simply to controvert the opinion very prevalent in some parts of the United States.

☞ Abolish negro Slavery at the South and you abolish the race. The negroes would become a loathsome nuisance to the people of the North, and would be exterminated.

NEW DEMOCRATIC

CAMPAIGN AT WASHINGTON CITY.

PROSPECTUS

An association of gentlemen propose to publish a new Democratic paper in the city of Washington, during the ensuing Presidential campaign, to be entitled

THE EXPOSITOR.

No effort will be spared to make this journal an able and efficient champion of Jeffersonian principles, and one which shall be eminently worthy of the patronage and confidence of the great Democratic party. It shall be a true and faithful expounder of their political faith, and an ever ready medium to convey just and patriotic sentiments to the ear of a candid and discriminating public. The cause which this paper will advocate, is that of immutable truth and eternal justice. It will be devoted to the propagation and support of great principles, rather than the mere political advancement of individuals. It will zealously and unremittingly advocate and defend those vitually important measures that tend to preserve the liberties of the people from the poisinous influence of sectional parties and unscrupulous demagogues, the Constitution from desecration and the Union from disruption. We belong to the party which recognizes the intelligence, integrity and virtue of THE PEOPLE; their competency to govern, their courage to defend, their ability to execute; to that party which has ever been the bold and unfaltering advocate of the inalienable rights of man; the undeviating friend of popular liberty; the champion of the down trodden and the oppressed; the only true friend and protector of the immigrant from other lands, and of those who earn their bread by honest toil; the party of progress, of justice, and universal humanity.

It is to battle for the true Democracy that we are about to gird on our armor for the approaching struggle, and for whom we have devoted the best energies and faculties of our lives.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to conceive of a crisis of greater magnitude, or dangers of more fearful importance than those which overshadow this mighty Republic. A reckless and unprincipled combination of antagonistic factions, in their desire to control the government, seem willing to involve the country in disunion and civil war, if they can succeed in accomplishing their objects in no other way. With madness that defies reason, with fanaticism that disregards law, both divine and human, with a shortsightedness that sees nothing of the appalling dangers which are ahead, the Abolition Republican party is waging a sectional war which must end in the destruction of our national prosperity. It is already producing its legitimate fruits in withdrawing from the North a large and lucrative business, thereby depriving the laboring classes of employment, and bringing want and destitution upon their families.

It is time to pause. We have set up our beacon to guide and to save. We shall concentrate our best exertions in laying before the public such facts as will arouse its dormant patriotism, and quicken its talent energies, and thereby prevent the government from falling into the hands of dangerous and corrupt men. We ask the zealous aid and cooperation of our Democratic friends in carrying out the designs we have indicated.

To insure active and persevering efforts in behalf of our undertaking we offer the following

PREMIUMS.

To the person who shall forward the largest number of subscribers to the publishers at Washington City, on or before the fourth of July 1860, we agree to pay a premium of

One Hundred Dollars;

to the person who shall transmit the second largest number, by the same time, a premium shall be awarded of

Fifty Dollars;

the one who shall send us the third largest list of subscribers, shall receive a premium of

TWENTY DOLLARS.

TERMS.

The *Expositor* will be published weekly, in the City of Washington, until the next Presidential election, at fifty cents to single subscribers; eleven copies shall be sent for five dollars; and fifty copies for twenty dollars, reducing the price to

FORTY CENTS, EACH

for the campaign

It will be printed on fine white paper, with new type, in a large quarto form, to make it convenient for binding and preserving for future reference. Each number will contain eight pages of valuable matter. Several of the most eminent political writers of the day have been engaged as contributors. No efforts will be spared to make it acceptable to the people and eminently useful to the Democratic party. Letters to be addressed to

THEOPHILUS FISKE & Co.,
Washington City.

THE PROSPECTS BEFORE US.

A distinguished gentleman in writing to a Union meeting held at Bangor, Maine, utters the following opinion as to the result of the treasonable schemes of Notherh incendiaries, traitors and hypocrites. He says that if the Northern abolition movement is not speedily arrested:—

"It will become all persons in the Eastern States to look after the condition of their property, to wind up all great local enterprises, to sell out their bank, railway and factory stocks, and to betake themselves to hoarding gold against the day of disaster, as men were accustomed to do in the troubled countries of India and China. What then? Why, all history is there to tells us; what then: social convulsions, hostile combats in the town streets, predatory guerilla bands roving up and down the country, shootings and hangings— in a word, that which we have not yet had, but which all other nations have—civil war, *near at home:* and, in the perspective distance, a man on horse back with a drawn sword in his hand, some Atlantic Cæsar, or Cromwell, or Napoleon, to secure to the weary world a respite from the dissonant din of the raving ideologies; the reason of force to replace the impotent force of reason; and a line of epauletted emperers to close up the truncated serice of the honored Presidents of the United States."